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A Bold Experiment
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THE

Commonweal

The Reluctant South

A Failure of Leadership

by Joseph H. Fichter

Supreme Court v. A.B.A.

Weighing the Evidence

by John E. Nolan, Jr.

FOR MENENITES ONLY . . . . . by Alice Ellen Mayhew
VARIATION ON A THEME . . . . . by Gerald Weales
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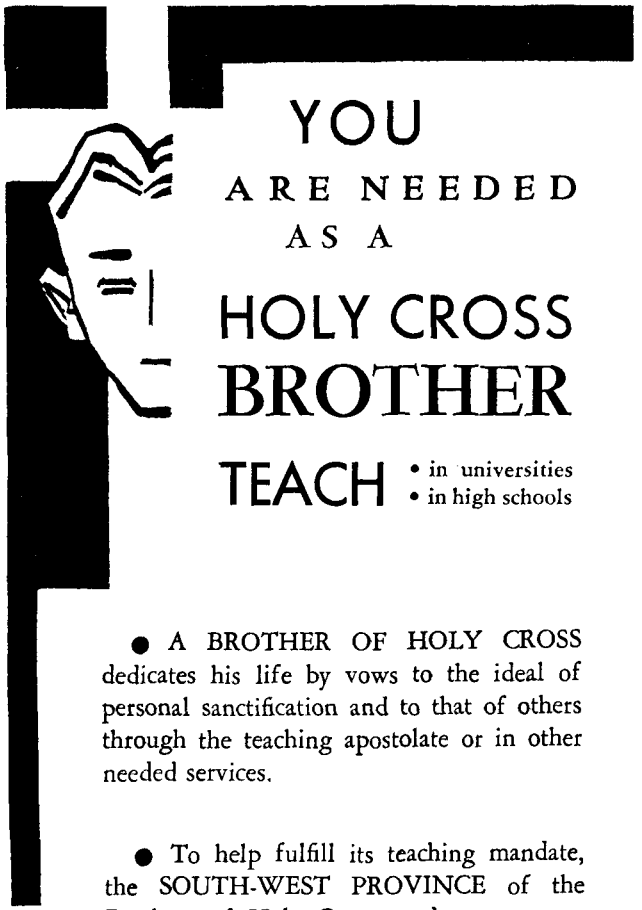

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386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

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Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Orange, Conn., under the act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. by the Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. MUrray Hill 3-9685.

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U. S. and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign, $10. Single copies 25¢

Printed at the Wilson H. Lee Co., Orange, Conn.

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

PROTESTANTS UNDER FRANCO

TWO ITEMS in the N. Y. *Times* for May 3 caught our attention. Although they were completely unrelated, each concerned Catholics, and each dramatized certain striking differences between Catholicism in two countries, Spain and the United States.

The American news item was slight, and normally we would have paid little attention to it. Next year at Seattle University, reports a Religious News Service dispatch in the *Times*, a Methodist co-ed will be editor of the student newspaper. This information was worth a few lines of type in the *Times* for one reason: despite its name, Seattle is not a public but a Catholic university.

Queried about the appointment, the priest-head of the University's journalism department seemed somewhat surprised at newsmen's interest. The girl's beliefs had nothing to do with her selection, he said; "she was appointed solely because the department felt she could do the best job."

Without wanting to make too much out of a relatively minor thing, we do believe this incident says something important about our country and about the Church in our country. In some European countries, we know, Catholics would agree—and say what it shows is a spirit of religious indifferentism. But in making this judgment they would be quite wrong.

American Catholics do not believe that "one religion is as good as another." We do believe in civil tolerance, and we rejoice that in the United States all religions are equal before the law. Insofar as the little item in the *Times* reflects the general American spirit in these matters, American Catholics will heartily approve. Indeed, they would say that if American Catholics need to know more about the Church in Europe, as they most certainly do, there is much that European Catholics could with profit learn about the Church in this country.

The second item of interest was the concluding half of a two-part report on the status of Protestants in Spain. As it happens, this story appeared at a time when Protestants are increasingly concerned about the welfare of their thirty-thousand co-religionists in Spain and shortly after the conclusion of a world-wide crusade of prayer by Protestants on this very subject. Unrelated though they were, the contrast in spirit between the two stories reported by the *Times* was striking and, we think, significant.

THE STATUS of Protestants in Spain is, to say the least, ambiguous and unenviable. Outnumbered one thousand to one, they live in a traditionally Catholic country in which the Catholic religion "is that of the Spanish State." Only Catholicism has "official protection" from the Spanish State. According to law: "No one shall be disturbed because of his religious beliefs or the private practice of his worship. No other outward ceremonies or demonstrations than those of the Catholic religion shall be permitted."

In actual practice, the attitude of Spanish officials toward Protestants seems to vary sharply from place to place and time to time. The *Times* reports, for example, that hostile officials have on occasion interpreted the "private practice of worship" to mean purely individual worship which would exclude even other members of the same family. Worship is supposed to take place inside buildings consecrated to the denomination involved, yet Protestants report almost insuperable difficulty in obtaining authorization to consecrate such buildings. And *Time* magazine reported a few weeks ago that a Baptist church in Barcelona was closed down

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last year because its congregation moved without permission from a building that was on the point of total collapse.

The list of such Protestant complaints could go on and on. To us, none of it makes very happy reading, and in this we do not think we are alone. Most American Catholics, we are convinced, react to reports from Spain much the same way, and we only wish more indication of this showed up from time to time in the Catholic press.

Like it or not, American Catholics have a large stake in what goes on in Spain. There is, of course, no real reason why other Americans should consider Spain "more Catholic" than, say, Ireland, which is a Catholic country with complete Constitutional protection for religious minorities. But when discussions of religious freedom arise, Spain is the country always and inevitably cited.

The reasons behind this focus of public attention on Spain are undoubtedly many and complex, including in some cases historic anti-Spanish feeling and an ingrained anti-Catholicism. But one other important reason, we would submit, and one American Catholics can do something about, is the obvious reluctance of many U.S. Catholics to criticize the Spanish regime in any way—a habit that probably owes much of its strength to memories of bitter argument and division at the time of the Spanish civil war.

That war, however, came to an end twenty years ago. Whether at the time most of the American Catholic press went overboard in its enthusiasm for Franco is not now the question at issue. Catholic journalism should be able to move on, and we think this new approach should include some plainer speaking on the subject of Spain today when it is called for.

No one suggests that profound differences in tradition and culture can be ignored or that they can change overnight. No one thinks we can tell the proud and historic Spanish people how to govern their own affairs. The experience of Spain is not the American one, and nothing we can say will change this. But if there is a limit to what can be accomplished by American Catholics in this area, there are certain things we can do, and one would be to make clear to the world how American Catholics feel on these questions. Many practices in Spain, including the treatment of Protestants, are not admired by us. We certainly have no desire to imitate them and we do not consider them models for imitation by others. The least our fellow-citizens have a right to expect is that we say so, plainly.

"SORRY, YOU WERE RIGHT"

THERE ARE times when it is a distinct pleasure to find that one is wrong, that not only informed opinion but fact weighs against your argument. We, for instance, would like to discover that our often stated worries about the U.S. armed forces policies were unfounded. Unfortunately, the more information we receive the more grave become our fears.

The latest statement to strengthen us in our views comes from the Association of the United States Army. In a report prepared under the direction of General Matthew B. Ridgway, former Chief of Staff of the Army, the association said:

"The present military posture of the United States is out of balance and incapable of exerting its full influence on war and 'cold war' situations that lie on that broad spectrum between a simple 'showing of the flag' at one end and thermonuclear war at the other end."

We agree and hope others were listening.

LUCE VS. MORSE

THE UNFORTUNATE Clare Boothe Luce episode seems now to have run its dismal course. Mrs. Luce has resigned her Ambassadorship to Brazil, and Republican talk of a censure motion against Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) has already dwindled into nothing. But although the Luce-Morse fiasco has already lost its front-page news appeal, its results will stay to plague us.

Partisans on both sides of this dispute may—and undoubtedly will—claim victory on one score or another, but in reality this was one of those contests that produce no winners. All the participants lost, and so did a number of innocent bystanders. Mrs. Luce suffered in her person and reputation, quite apart from the loss of a diplomatic post she obviously very much wanted. Senator Morse suffered personal hurt in the exchange with Mrs. Luce, and his reputation and Senatorial influence have undoubtedly been damaged, largely as a result of his own words and actions. The dignity and prestige of the Senate, qualities in need of perpetual enhancement if not restoration, have been grievously impaired, as have already delicate Executive-Congressional relations. The U.S. government has been made to look inept in the eyes of our own citizens, Latin Americans generally and Brazilians particularly.

Moreover, in addition to these obvious and im-

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mediate consequences, the controversy over Mrs. Luce has complicated a number of other political problems, long-range but equally unfortunate. One of the most important of these problems is that of improving the quality of American ambassadors. It is almost a tradition of our political life that ambassadorial appointments, at least the desirable ones, are given as rewards for outstanding service to the party in power. Outstanding service to the party is, of course, very often measurable in the cold cash of campaign contributions.

The Eisenhower Administration, it is clear, has done nothing to break this cynical tradition. It is also clear, however, that the appointment of Mrs. Luce, a distinguished writer and an experienced diplomat, can in no way be compared to the awarding of a patronage plum to a party benefactor of dubious qualification. Of course, the wisdom of Mrs. Luce's appointment might properly be questioned, on the basis of her public record of performance, but such a rational and profitable discussion of her qualifications was never achieved. The opposition to Mrs. Luce, led by Senator Morse, degenerated into irrelevancies, personal invective and deplorable invasions of her private affairs. The possibility that the Senate will consider ambassadorial appointees on a nonpartisan basis of qualification alone seems now, as a result of the bitterness aroused by the Luce affair, further away than ever.

The whole question of the role of the Senate in the confirmation of Executive appointees has also been clouded by the acrimony stirred up in the quarrel over Mrs. Luce. Congress is notoriously jealous of its rights and prerogatives, and resists any tendency to regard its confirmations as routine rubber stampings. Yet confirmations often hinge on the simple question of party strength, and the minority, knowing in advance what the outcome will be, resort in consequence to pointless harassment and humiliation of Presidential nominees. If this procedure is to be amended, Senate questioning of appointees will have to attain a new, high level of responsibility. The performance of Mr. Morse has only exacerbated a bad situation.

A final note of regret about the Luce-Morse collision is that it showed and intensified the debasement of political ethics in our country. Most commentators treated the affair with amusement, seeing Mrs. Luce's intemperate remarks and Senator Morse's sweeping charges as "just politics." We cannot agree, and will not accept the genial view that "all's fair in love, war and politics." Mrs. Luce's statements in past campaigns, wherein she impugned the motives of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, accusing them of dishonesty and corruption, indicate in her a serious lapse in political responsibility and decency. In insisting on their importance Senator Morse was, we think, more right than wrong. But the issue was hopelessly lost when the Senator demonstrated his own lack of responsibility by at least equally outrageous attacks upon Mrs. Luce.

So things stand at the conclusion of what has been called, with inappropriate levity, "l'affaire Clare." It is an affair nobody can be proud of.

SEAWAY OPENS

THE ARRIVAL in Chicago, on April 30, of the first ocean-going vessel to traverse the new St. Lawrence Seaway marked the realization of a forty-year-old dream. Canada, as we know, has long been a more ardent advocate of the new facilities than the United States, and in the debates of the past two decades this country's Eastern railroads joined with adherents of such major ports as Boston, New York, Baltimore and New Orleans in opposing the plan. Washington decided to go along with the program six years ago only after Canada had threatened to construct the facilities alone. The depleting of the Mesabi iron mines in Minnesota and the steel industry's dependence on new sources of ore in Quebec, Labrador and Venezuela may well have been the decisive factor; the steel companies did come to Canada's support.

Perhaps the first thing to be noted is that this heady project is as yet far from completed. Chicago and Detroit, for instance, will not become the great ports that are envisaged until heavy expenditures are made to deepen channels, which may take several years.

The delays in opening the Seaway this spring point toward its greatest drawback. It is not open to ship-borne traffic four and a half months of the year. This means, for example, that unless vast new storage facilities are built overseas, Western grain will go on being shipped continuously; it will still have to be sent by rail to Eastern ports for trans-shipment in winter and early spring.

Observers perceive unexpected caution on the part of businessmen, who might have been expected to plump for the opportunity offered to cut their transportation costs. Yet such savings do have to be measured against the greater speed of rail transport and the possibility of congestion and delays on such bottlenecks as the Welland Canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Even so, tonnage

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along this new route is expected to double in the very first year.

How is the dislocation from the big shifts in routes and means of shipping to be met? Among the first to experience the effects will be seaports on the Atlantic seaboard and the port of New Orleans. And two even greater difficulties immediately come to mind. Eastern railroads in the United States will now find themselves confronted by a big loss in freight revenues at a moment when some of them are already in a hazardous condition. Canada's maritime provinces generally, and Nova Scotia in particular, will be experiencing losses in freight and shipping revenues at a time when other important sources of income, such as the coalfields of Cape Breton, are playing out.

Developments such as these became inevitable once the St. Lawrence decision had been made. Such major results as more direct and cheaper transportation out from the vast granary of the West and in from the Quebec-Labrador iron mines will function for the general good. But at this stage it would be gratifying to know that governments, business interests, trade unions and others were persistently working together to prevent the various transition steps from becoming socially disruptive. Regions hard hit by these present and future changes should not be left victims of the interplay of economic forces of such magnitude.

PROBLEMS OF CENSORSHIP

THE TROUBLE with problems of censorship is that they are so troublesome. Rarely are they quite as simple as they are made to appear by even the most sophisticated argument that is enlisted on either side of a debate. These familiar and pessimistic reflections are occasioned, of course, by another controversy, that centering around Goya's "The Naked Maja."

When, in order to advertise a film based on Goya's life, United Artists wished to mail color postcards of the painting, the Post Office found them non-mailable because they were judged obscene. Loud complaints followed, naturally and immediately. United Artists complained that the ruling materially damaged their large advertising campaign. The American Civil Liberties Union said it was a case of prior restraint, that it pointed up the need for carefully considered evidence to be tested in court, so that such decisions would not be based upon the judgments of a single man.

Furthermore, the A.C.L.U. added, logic demands that if the reproduction is judged harmful to the public, the original and other nude studies must also be judged obscene and banned from view. It further pointed out that the Post Office Department never interferes with art magazines which reproduce paintings or sculptings of nude figures. "Why, then, is an advertisement subject to different treatment? The only answer seems to be that art is art only when a caption so proclaims it, but that it surrenders its immunity from governmental regulations when it is not so clearly labeled."

These are strong objections and they were, of course, extended beyond the brief summary given here. But after granting that the issue is significant, that the facts presented by United Artists and the A.C.L.U. are by themselves impressive, and that their case is cogent and persuasive, can one say their conclusion is inexorable? We think not.

One of the most consistent failures in disputes over what is and is not art, what is and is not obscene, what should or should not be banned, is the failure to consider the whole context. There is an increasingly general understanding that something which in itself may be regarded as obscene or offensive may, in a particular context, be something quite different. Subject matter alone is insufficient for judgment; the form of the work must be considered. In a work of art it is the form which *places* the matter, which helps provide the context in which it must be appraised.

But if the ordinarily offensive can be thus transformed, so too can what is ordinarily innocuous or even attractive. Of course, a work of art is art whether a caption so declares it or not. But even a work of art is not safe from degraded uses. One need not invite a discussion about the abyss which lies between a painting and the usual reproduction to question the purpose and effect of the United Artists' mailing. But one can question the devotion to art which is shown by pressing into service a recognized classic for the purposes of advertising. Yet there may be only a matter of artistic degradation in such exploitation, hardly a criterion by which the Post Office would declare something non-mailable.

But to consider the entire context here is to ask if the postcard exploits not only art but sex, as other reproductions approved for mailing do not? And is not such exploitation the proper concern of the Post Office? Admittedly such questions do not solve the problem. They suggest, however, that the solution is not so neatly arrived at as United Artists and the A.C.L.U. think, that if logic makes demands one of them is that all pertinent factors be considered.

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The Reluctant South

The people who normally provide the leadership in political, economic, educational and religious institutions are refusing to lead the South from the wilderness

by JOSEPH H. FICHTER

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS talk about a culture lag when the material and technological aspects of the culture outstrip and even disrupt the non-material and ideological aspects. In the South we seem to be suffering a double cultural lag: one between our technology and that of the rest of the country, the other between our own technological and ideological patterns.

The first lag is what Rupert Vance meant when he said that the South has to run as fast as it can just to stand still in relation to the rest of the country. We are making a desperate effort to catch up in material progress, building industries, residences and roads, increasing our per capita income, storing up capital wealth, raising the physical standards of living. We are industrializing our cities and mechanizing our farms, but so is the rest of the country, and even faster.

The second lag is an internal one. Even within the South material progress is out-racing social and spiritual progress. No one protests that we can go too far too fast in mechanizing the farms, developing our oil resources, expanding transportation and communication lines. But there are those who protest that we go too far too fast in any attempt we make to spread American ideas of equality and freedom. Deliberate efforts are made to hinder organized labor, to limit the vote, to curtail civil rights in education, recreation, transportation, home ownership and job opportunities.

This double culture lag is creating many problems. It is making Southerners envious and resentful of the larger nation and its prosperity. It is raising big question marks in the minds of the less fortunate peoples of the world who look to America as the greatest democratic bastion of human dignity. These so-called "backward" peoples can understand and sympathize if the South is less wealthy than the rest of the nation; they cannot understand if the South is less American.

In spite of the culture lags, however, great changes are taking place in the Old South today, and they are moving, at least in the long run, in the direction of the predominant American culture. The trend is too large, and its momentum too great, for it to be halted. To obtain at least a partial understanding of the processes that are pushing us toward "Americanization," we may well examine three vital areas: the composition of the population; the system of economic relations; and the general social structure.

THE COMPOSITION of the Southeastern population provides one of the main clues why this subculture has differed from the total American culture. The immigrant stock, both white and Negro, has a longer continuing history than that of the other parts of the country. The Old South was practically untouched by the successive waves of European migration from the 1840's until after the first world war. While these immigrant people were spreading across the Northern states into all other sections of the nation, the Southerners continued to inbreed and reproduce themselves in virtual isolation.

This lack of immigration stimulus was an important disadvantage to the Southeast in two directions. It missed the economic potential of a large vigorous mass of adult free labor that proved so productive elsewhere in America. It missed further the tremendous upsurge of inventions and ideas that occurs whenever peoples of different cultures meet and mingle. The inbreeding and isolation of the Southern population constitute a cultural handicap which we are only now beginning to overcome.

Father Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., is head of the department of Sociology at Loyola University, New Orleans, and author of *Southern Parish*. This article is based on an address delivered at a Southeast Area Conference of the American Jewish Committee.

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Because it did not enter the main stream of American development the Southern population changed slowly. Because it was rural its birth rate remained high and its population relatively young. But since the second world war all of this is changing. The Southern population is on the move, mainly off the land and into the other regions of the nation. The proportion of rural people and the proportion of Negroes are rapidly decreasing.

A second important element to be considered is the changing economic system of the South. Patterns and institutions change more slowly in the rural environment. Much has been made of the fact that the South has been mainly agricultural and rural, and of the myth that Southern agrarianism was an especially genteel and romantic kind of rural life. It should be noted, however, that the type of farming adopted in the region helped to slow down change even more. The South was not a land of numerous, independent vigorous farmers who managed their own small holdings. The dominant agricultural pattern was that of the large plantation, concentrating on single money crops and paying minimum attention to conservation of natural resources.

Today the mechanization of the farms is doing more than pushing people off the land. It is providing a whole new concept of scientific management, of mass production, of capital outlay, of wholesale distribution, of rising wages—a concept that is new to the South but as old as the factory system. New plants and industries are absorbing some of the people who live on the land, but not at a rate sufficient to hold them to the region. Howard Odum used to complain that the Southeast has one-fifth of the people and only one-eighth of the national wealth. This gap is closing as the economy of the South picks up.

Thirdly, one must bear in mind that the economic system is a system of people and of human relations. The reluctance to change the old social structure is part of the reason why progress is not faster. The American Society is typically a strong middle-class system, and in this sense the Old South was not typical. The large proportion of lower-class workers, both white and Negro, and the attitudes of the upper class toward them, constituted a distinctly non-American feature of the Southern social structure. Freedom of movement, of work and opportunity, of upward mobility, is a basic ingredient of the American culture, but in the South institutionalized restrictions on this freedom still exist everywhere.

The segregation system, the studied practice of keeping the masses, especially the Negroes, on the lowest rung of the social structure, has affected all the major institutions of the Southeast. It has affected the family by a peculiar combination of strict marriage taboos and loose sex relations. It has helped to account for the low rate of literacy and the inadequate educational system. It has affected the anti-labor attitudes of both business and professional persons, and helped to maintain an archaic political philosophy. It has blocked the full expression of religious ideals and values.

Today this segregation system is changing in the South. In spite of legislative roadblocks, organized hate campaigns and unorganized hoodlumism, the lines of racial discrimination are gradually being broken down. The Negro has won every major court case on discrimination, in transportation, voting rights, schooling, housing, fair-employment opportunities. This progressive implementing of social justice has been fluctuating and spotty, but it has been in one direction and without major setbacks. And this change, which is taking place sporadically in the Southeast, has been clearly pointed in the direction of "Americanization."

IT IS NO oversimplification to point to these three elements—the composition of the population, the economic system, and the social structure—as the principal factors in the development and maintenance of the regional culture of the old Southeast. The patterns that surround these three areas of behavior are the customs that have kept the South in its low cultural status. Indeed, there are even some raucous reactionaries among us who are actually proud of these primitive customs, who boast about the very factors that have contributed to keeping the South on a low cultural level.

Nonetheless, an objective appraisal of the changes that are now under way must be made with extreme caution, especially if any prediction is connected with the appraisal. It is perilously easy to discuss factors and elements as though these operate independently of people. There is a tendency to talk in terms of causal chains, like this: when industries come in, wages go up, unions flourish, the middle class expands, and a higher social morality prevails. Or people say: increase the level of education, and automatically there is toleration of ethnic religious and racial minorities.

Present experience, however, forces one to question seriously these notions of automatic institutional improvement. As Harold Kaufman has shown, Alabama has as high a proportion of industrial workers as California, and Mississippi as high a proportion as Kansas. Still, no one would suggest that Alabama and

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Mississippi have reached the level of social well-being achieved by California and Kansas.

The rising level of education in the South was supposed to bring great social improvement. But what is happening to these educated people, especially the college graduates? One of three things: some move out of the South for better economic opportunities; a few move into the shadowy slums of the White Citizens Councils; most of them quietly retire into their middle class corners, waiting for the present nastiness to blow over.

NO, ECONOMIC and educational improvement do not bring with them automatic social progress. Our Southern political leaders, both at home and in Congress, are still operating on an archaic plantation philosophy. Our religious leaders are still enmeshed in a wait-and-see philosophy that is more interested in where we have been than in where we are going. Our professional people, who have the least to lose in social change, are the most inarticulate of all Southern people. Our economic leaders, both in management and in labor, who have the most to gain from the modernization of the South, are more conservative, and even more reactionary, than the newspaper editors of the South.

Social scientists talk a great deal about multiple causality, the mutual influences of major institutions, of the way in which change in one area of the culture brings about changes in other areas. This is precisely where we have to avoid the notion of determinism and environmentalism.

Industrialization is supposed to bring better opportunities for minorities through the operation of labor unions, but we find some of the most prejudiced people among members of labor unions. Formal education is supposed to enlighten us socially, but here too one finds some of the most reactionary people among college graduates. It is true that advance in one institution affects the progress of other institutions, but we sometimes forget that in all of this progress and change there are people involved.

This is the point of most importance in the present crucial social situation in the Southeast. We are witnessing a double breakdown of law and of leadership. We proudly read the inscription on public buildings that this is a government of law, not of men, but we find that the very men who are charged with the responsibility of upholding the law are themselves the most lawless of all. Politics, industry, education and religion cannot fulfill their high aims if their leaders scoff at the basic laws of the land.

Today we are gathering the fruits of this lawlessness. For several years there has been public defiance of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court by the very people who are sworn to uphold both. They have set a public example of immorality, and their example is now being followed in the cruder forms of physical violence, mob resistance by day and furtive bombings of schools and churches by night. This wave of terrorism must be laid directly at the door of legal and political connivers who talk loftily of States' Rights and neglect States' responsibilities and human rights. They have inspired a general disrespect for the law.

WHERE IS our Southern leadership? Where are the people who respect the law and can lead us away from the brink of barbarism? The Southern liberal has withered away. The Southern moderate has withdrawn from the torrent of vilification designed to silence him. The stage had been left vacant for the immoderates and the reactionaries. The people who normally provide the leadership in political, economic, educational and religious institutions are refusing to lead us from the wilderness. They are failing to bring the South forward into the promised land of twentieth-century America.

We are beset by many problems in the South, but if there is one thing we need right now and urgently it is the voice and action of the better people of the South. There are large numbers of good people of both races and of all religions who have kept silent in this crisis. They are shocked into silence by the smear tactics of the immoderates, and they are stunned into inaction by the gutter tactics of the lawless.

There are in the South millions of these inarticulate people of stuttering courage. They are teachers and librarians, lawyers and clergymen, business leaders, church workers, social workers, newspaper men and women. They have a deep civic conscience on those conservative programs that improve the community. They work in churches; they are on hospital guilds; they give unselfishly to every civic drive; they contribute to the symphony and art museum. They are active everywhere for the good of the community—except in the most crucial question of human rights that is now facing the South.

The fulfillment of these rights in the South will come either by coercion from the federal government or by persuasion from the civic leadership of the better people. Racism is an aspect of barbarism, and it must be turned back or it will swallow all human decency. Already we have seen racism turn into anti-Semitism, and who can say where it will stop if it is not checked? For my part, I do not believe in the dialectics of the pendulum, that things must become worse before they can become better. The "do-nothing" policy of the cowardly and the cautious has already done much more harm than good. This is the moment for the better people of the South to assert themselves, and to lead the way out of the morass of corruption and lawlessness into which we have fallen.

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ADENAUER FOR PRESIDENT

FOR A WEEK, or almost a week, soon after the war in Germany was over, and while the Allied Armies were marching to take position in the four Zones, and when the mysterious, breathless pause of anarchy still muffled and shrouded all normal society, I interrogated, interviewed and conversed with Konrad Adenauer, and was almost a friend, sharing at least one great experience with him when his son was returned home safe from Prisoner of War camp. He was mayor of Cologne for a few weeks, just appointed to his pre-Nazi office by the Americans, and about to be discharged again by the British, who were taking over the area. In that fantastic setting, with the great city physically destroyed, food and shelter desperately failing, the country's communal life dead, and with intellectual and moral ideas and expression almost utterly chaotic, Adenauer evidenced poise and directed energies and confident, clear vision which in their very calm were hyperbolically dramatic. He seemed then, and with most rare fortitude he has seemed since, to be a Catholic statesman through deep and disciplined inner formation.

Adenauer, at the age of eighty-three, is moving to give up the directing political office of chancellor and to seek the presidency of his country. He has already proved himself a great German, providing his country not with a doctrinaire thesis stubbornly maintained, but with human integrity unafraid in Europe's greatest danger. How great a European and world statesman he is, will be known when history discloses the destiny of Germany and Middle Europe. If a free form of historical European culture shall prevail, humane and Christian at its base, then he will be successful and one of the great statesmen of history.

The large lines of policy which are identified with Adenauer's name and work are extraordinarily clear. First, West Germany shall be a living part of Europe and the West, in firm and challenging contrast to the Russian regime and any other communist and communizing approximation or approach. In the other direction, the hostile national contest with France shall be ended in cooperative effort and in tactful interchange and friendship. German re-union itself shall be looked for from the gravitational attraction of a Germany integrated in the West. Separated Eastern Germany should be the "petitioner," as it were, to enter the actual German state and a freely organized European system. In the Bonn Republic, the war-purged administration and economy shall be non-schematic, developed upon the people and institutions and forces which are present. Adenauer's government, a conservative government, has relied upon the men and groups and ways which are vigorous and can freely and almost spontaneously act. It has stood against domination by the state, or by narrow group interests. This has brought forth the unfashionable but undoubted "German economic miracle." Adenauer has a vague reputation as a most accomplished political "dealer." We don't know from overseas what compromises have been effected, or what alternatives and possibilities have been sacrificed. But we do know the civilized policy which has been the goal of the "politics."

Konrad Adenauer is a Catholic statesman. The more his policy is considered, the more definitely it appears a long-term *cultural* policy, with a view of civilization embracing much more than the swiftest pragmatic means to material comfort and to release from all tension. Adenauer is deeply a Rhenish Catholic. His, and his re-born party's, strongest regional territory, the Rhine and the east-branching Ruhr, were the backbone and right arm of the diminished Germany of the western zones. Berlin and the most Prussian and the most Protestant areas were reduced from their former influence. Bavaria was more closely associated than ever before. The Social Democrats, although crudely favored by hosts of Allied searchers for a "Third Force," and a "Non-Communist Left," were compromised by their weakness and dispersal under the Nazis, the Marxism they shared with Russia, and their incapacity.

In the social-political vacuum following the Nazi defeat, the Catholic Church was virtually the only institution seriously operating and ready to go. A party and leader somehow linked to it had tremendous advantage. Adenauer had the intelligence and strength to take the advantage, and do so in a positive, unifying way, not to bring friction and scandal, but to rally his countrymen in a vital community. He did not water down or compromise principles, but worked for them in a spirit which broadened the base of his party and secured the respect and cooperation of millions not members of the party or of the Church. He instituted a platform and policy which have been the most consistent, and so far the most consistently successful in Europe. The future may show that German unity has again been achieved, this time not by Hohenzollerns or Prussian soldiers or National Socialist stormtroopers, but rather by the civic and in notable measure Catholic energies of the most "European" parts of that powerful country. It is indeed true that there can be no conclusive success for Adenauer's policy or party or country unless the whole continent and free world shall share in the achievement and reward. That is no ordinary measure for the breadth of a statesman's vision and spirit.

PHILIP BURNHAM.

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What purpose, if any, was served by the Bar Association's recent report?

Supreme Court v. A.B.A.

by JOHN E. NOLAN, JR.

PROBABLY no action of the American Bar Association in years has received as widespread publicity or developed as much public interest as its recent "Supreme Court" resolutions. The furor arose when the A.B.A. House of Delegates approved a series of recommendations dealing with our internal security laws and simultaneously published a committee report including and supporting the recommendations. The tumult and shouting have now died sufficiently to permit some evaluation of the Bar's action.

It is apparent, as A.B.A. President Ross Malone has been at great pains to point out, that the official Bar approval is stamped only on the committee's *recommendations,* and these are to be distinguished from the remainder of the report of which they are a part. Unfortunately, this is a distinction which Mr. Malone with admirable candor acknowledges to be "finely drawn and likely to result in confusion," as it most certainly did.

Public reaction to the report was based on the press accounts which nearly unanimously accepted the A.B.A. action as an approval of the report itself. And the public response was as nothing compared to the reception it received in Congress. The entire report was twice reprinted in full in the Congressional Record, where it was represented to have been "overwhelmingly adopted" by the A.B.A. and characterized as a "scathing criticism" of the Supreme Court. The Court's critics were able to fire salvo after salvo from the ammunition thus provided.

Recognizing at the outset that the official A.B.A. position is stated only in the recommendations and that the remainder of the report may represent only the view of the A.B.A. Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives, it is nevertheless impossible to consider one in isolation from the other. Published alone, it seems likely that the recommendations would not have caused much stir. Their significance is derived from the report of which they are a part and the prevailing atmosphere in which the report was published. To the extent that the A.B.A. was aware of this atmosphere and the probable consequences of its action, its responsibility may be broader than it has acknowledged.

The report begins by noting that the Supreme Court and an independent judiciary are the "ultimate guardians of the Bill of Rights and the protectors of our freedom," and allowing that it is the duty of members of the bar to defend these institutions against unfair and unjust attacks. The committee itself discharges this duty in the first of its recommendations. After pointing out that the Court has been criticized for some of its decisions dealing with federal and state security laws and noting even that "members of this association view some of the decisions to be unsound and incorrect," the committee continues by disapproving omnibus proposals for limiting the Court's appellate jurisdiction because "such broad omnibus proposals [are] at this time unwise and likely to create more problems than they will solve."

HOWEVER, during the debate in the House of Delegates, Mr. Loyd Wright, former A.B.A. president, is reported to have spurred the assembly to action by asking: "Isn't it time we told the Court to read the law and stop writing ideological opinions?" And the remainder of the committee's recommendations come fairly close to doing just that. At least they tell the Court that if it does not read the law the way the committee does—and the committee thinks there are reasonable grounds to believe that weaknesses in internal security have been disclosed—it is going to ask Congress to change the law.

Included in the A.B.A. recommendations are specific legislative proposals to expand the definition of the term "organize" in the Smith Act, to make teaching or advocacy of forcible overthrow of the government a crime though it were advocated only as an abstract doctrine without any incitement to action, to condition public employment on the answering of all official inquiries regarding loyalty, and to tighten various provisions regarding aliens and activities of foreign agents. The report also lauds the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee and recommends that they be maintained and supported.

Mr. Nolan is a Washington attorney and a former Supreme Court law clerk.

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In the section headed "Court Decisions Related to Communism," it is stated that many cases "have been decided in such a manner as to encourage Communist activity in the United States." The resulting "paralysis of our internal security" is said to grow largely "from construction and interpretation centering around technicalities emanating from our judicial process," and there follows a listing of some twenty-four cases which are supposed to have occasioned a good deal of criticism and, implicitly at least, contributed to the "paralysis."

Included in this list are such controversial decisions as *Cole v. Young,* which limited the federal security program to so-called "sensitive" positions in government, and *Pennsylvania v. Steve Nelson,* curtailing state laws relating to subversion of the federal government. Surprisingly enough, also included are such cases as *Schware v. Board of Bar Examiners* and *Service v. Dulles,* which were decided without dissent by the Court and seemed to have achieved general acceptance by the profession and the public alike, and *Jencks v. United States,* where the Court's holding that a criminal defendant was entitled to see the written reports turned in by government witnesses against him was subsequently confirmed by federal statute. But this wholesale selection of cases is not all that is surprising about the report.

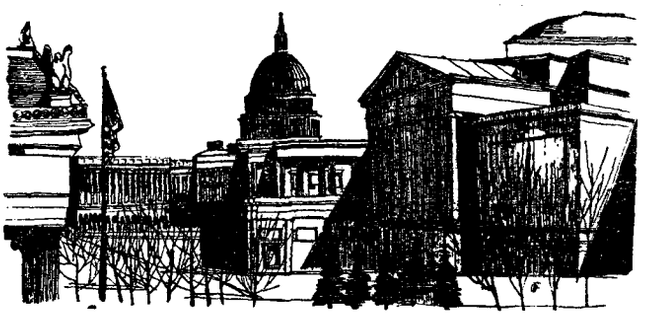
Without questioning the integrity of the members of the committee, it may be relevant in gauging their objectivity to note their active participation in some of the cases cited. The chairman of the committee is a former member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, whose protracted litigation with the Communist Party is described in detail in the report. The chairman of the committee was also a counsel of record in the *Slochower* case, another of those cited. One of the other members of the committee is in the almost incredible position of having been both a party and counsel of record in two of the cases cited and having argued as an *amicus curiae* in a third. It is easy to see how objective one might be under these circumstances, roughly the equivalent of allowing Eugene Dennis, whose conviction was affirmed by the Court, to argue his own case and then participate in the writing of a bar association report criticizing the decision.

Perhaps even more surprising, in view of the bar's long-standing policy against public comment on pending cases, is the fact that three of the cases cited in the report are now awaiting decision, two in the Supreme Court of the United States and one in the Supreme Court of Florida. One of these cases was actually argued in the Supreme Court of the United States by a member of the committee a few months before the report was published. In each such pending case the liberty or important rights of individuals were hanging in the balance at the very moment of the report's release.

To underline the seriousness of this point, it was observed in Congress a few days later that the A.B.A.'s criticism would "not go unnoticed by the high Justices," with the further observation that: "Though they sit on the highest court in the land the fact remains that they as human beings are sensitive to public opinion and more particularly to that of the American Bar Association." The report presumably had more impact than a law review or magazine article, and it is difficult to see a distinction which would place one within the bounds of propriety and the other without.

EVEN ASIDE from these shortcomings, however, it seems proper to raise the question whether a report of this type serves any purpose which justifies its publication. It may, of course, if it is really an objective criticism of the Court. The Court should not be immune, and preeminent lawyers have considered that a constant play of informed criticism is essential to its proper functioning. But this report does not even pretend to serve that purpose. The decisions referred to are characterized as controversial and summarily listed without any attempt at analysis of the decisions themselves or the statutes which they construe. One is reminded of Learned Hand's statement of more than a generation ago regarding criticism of judges: "Let them be severely brought to book, when they go wrong, but by those who will take the trouble to understand."

What the report lacks in legal analysis, though, it makes up for in the vigor of its general treatment of the Communist menace. Under the heading "Communist Tactics," a good half of its volume is devoted to various phases of Russia's cold-war activity, ranging from summit conferences and cultural exchanges to propaganda and East-West trade. Contained in this section are some of the committee's opinions and a good deal of factual material which has long been well known and about which there is general agreement. It is certainly proper and maybe even desirable for the committee to bring all of this to the attention of the A.B.A. and through the Association to the American public. It may not be important that some of the matters discussed have no direct connection with the legal profession and are outside of the committee's special competence; if repeating them in this forum is



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worthwhile, then that is the report's justification. But it seems at least questionable that this would be sufficient to outweigh the possibility that the report would be uncritically accepted—as it promptly was in Congress—as a thorough examination by a "distinguished body of American lawyers, eminently qualified to examine judicial decisions." A thorough examination the report definitely was not, and its acceptance as such seriously prejudices the position of the Court.

There is obviously need for a balanced and reasoned evaluation of the problems dealt with in the report, problems which are of transcendent importance to our national well-being. Essentially they involve striking a balance between individual freedom and the national security, and they are too often resolved, as here, by giving paramount effect to one of these considerations and ignoring the other. The need for balance was recognized by the A.B.A. when it referred the question of pending federal security legislation to both its Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security and its Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives. Unfortunately, "the two committees to which the recommendations were referred for further study have not had a sufficient opportunity to jointly discuss their findings," and the resulting report was loaded on only one side of the scale.

Perhaps the report's failure points up the real service which was attempted and which may yet be achieved by the American Bar Association. As Walter Millis has noted: "The trouble is not so much that wrong answers are returned to these pragmatic issues; rather it is that they are not debated in rational terms and therefore are never answered at all." Any benefit to the nation would seem to lie in such a deliberate and rational examination, with full weight assigned to each of the considerations which must be served, liberty and security. Congress has not yet taken the opportunity for such an examination, and few purposes as great could be served within the sphere of competence of the law. It is to be hoped that the American Bar Association may regain the perspective necessary to make its own significant contribution.

DELINQUENCY IN SWEDEN

A Bold Experiment

by GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

ONE OF THE most interesting experiments in the world is now being carried out in a small country in Europe, in Sweden. It is an experiment which comes closer to Plato's dream than anything previously attempted, for it is carried out by the State which, like the bold philosopher, supposedly seeks the ideal without prejudice. In an age when many are concerned with the underdeveloped countries and with the effort to help them raise their standard of living, this strange experiment offers a reply to the question: what happens when that goal has been reached? Does it really pay?

However high the standard of living in the United States, one can readily find slums, just as one can in the larger welfare states in Europe, in England, for example. Need has really been abolished and abolished for a considerable length of time only in Scandinavia. It belongs to a past as remote as the kerosene lamp and the horse cart. It is taken for granted by many people in the world that need breeds crime, and they support their opinion by statistics which show that as need decreases in the underdeveloped countries so too does the crime rate. Now, does the experiment in Sweden—or Denmark or Norway for that matter—prove, as one might expect, that the complete abolition of need also means the disappearance of crime?

The reply is definitely no. On the contrary, the higher the standard of living the higher and more alarming is the crime rate, particularly juvenile delinquency. The young who do not even remember what need is like have the highest rate. The rule that need breeds crime may be true—but only up to a point. Then something else comes into the picture. When youth has been given equal opportunities independent of social background, economic security, solid instruction, physical training and full employment, new and grave problems arise.

These are the problems the Swedish welfare state is wrestling with and trying to solve. What makes the experiment unique is that the state itself, or the city, which in so many other countries represents blind routine or backward bureaucracy, is trying one bold method after another, without ideological prejudice.

Mr. Kumlien, who regularly writes for The Commonweal from Rome, is on the staff of the *Stockholms-Tidningen*.

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Other countries, too, have bold experiments to solve social problems, but they are usually undertaken by gifted and courageous individuals, often in opposition to the state or at least without its participation. They remain isolated and are dependent on broadminded financial sponsors. Here the bureaucrats themselves are the experimentors and the state gives them the means to try, and to try again, independently of the failures. A solution has to be found.

AFTER HAVING achieved the standard most of the world is striving for, why don't the results follow in order? Why does the complete abolition of need not only fail to do away with crime but, apparently, seem to stimulate it? Why do the young people especially seem to go astray? What are the best methods to reintegrate them into society?

In any large town in Sweden, a visitor will be able to notice regular gatherings of young people, usually after dinner, in certain squares or parks. He will be struck by the fact that they are surprisingly noisy for a country that is generally very quiet. Their noisiness has something of a challenge; the girls are usually very young, some being little more than children, but all with heavy makeup; the boys are dressed principally in leather jackets and jeans. Their attitude represents an obvious attempt to appear tough and even aggressive. Practically all of the girls smoke, even the twelve- or thirteen-year-olds. Some of the boys are clearly drunk, even the youngest with their rosy cheeks and fair hair. They look, as the saying goes, like "drunken angels."

These crowds behave as if they were a rebellious minority in a hostile country, ready to fight. Clashes with the police are quite frequent. Police keep them under special watch, for these youngsters indulge in stealing cars, breaking into empty flats or cottages, in prostitution, both "normal" and homosexual and sometimes in connection with drugs.

Now, none of this is new, and gangs like these can be found in all countries. They seem to be part of an apparently unavoidable "pathological fringe." There is, however, a fundamental difference between the usual groups and those in Sweden. In Sweden they are so numerous that one is liable to come across them anywhere. They generally come from ordinary working class families and none have ever experienced what real need means. Their youth is such that it is a shock to many foreign observers, for even in underdeveloped countries where misery and housing conditions combine to produce "wild children," the girls at least are closely protected by their parents and poverty is the background of the prostitution.

WHAT, THEN, induces the "wild youth" of Sweden to more and more crime when practically all of them have warm and comfortable homes, nine years of free public school with all sorts of vocational training, exceptional opportunities for further training, and when they have no difficulty getting well-paid jobs according to their taste as soon as they are out of school? Why don't they eagerly seize the opportunities the philosopher-state offers them? The representatives of this state, working among them and studying them carefully and taking care of them as soon as they are caught by the police, have no doubt about the reply: they are not interested.

Or, rather, they are spoiled too early by too many cars, powerful motorcycles, low quality films, too much money, drink and sex. In other words the working class youth in Sweden is threatened in its moral and physical health by exactly what threatens the sons and the daughters of the very rich in every country in the world. Living at home, as most of them do, they have practically no expenses, and the jobs they pick up as soon as they are out of school give them the money for the second-hand cars, the powerful motorcycles, the drink and the sex. They tend not to specialize for a certain job, for specialization means following a course for a certain length of time with low pay or no pay at all. For the same reason they do not continue their studies in the high schools or universities which, with all imaginable facilities, are wide open to them.

Why do they steal cars? Just for the fun of it, for the pleasure of racing drunk, for the thrill of showing a girl that they care. Why do they break into flats or cottages, when they could easily buy what they steal or destroy? Just for the fun of it again, for the thrill of breaking the law. . . .

And the parents? They have very little time for their children, busy as they are taking advantage of the full employment. Often both parents work in order to raise an already exceptionally high standard of living, to buy cars, T.V.'s, sailing boats, trips abroad, etc. It is true that recently the opportunities for full employment have decreased slightly, but compared to the rest of the world they are still formidable. The children, growing up alone, form couples and try to find the love and warmth they didn't find at home.

Naturally this does not apply to the whole working class. But the increasing proportion of the working class youth to which it does apply has been a hard blow to the philosopher-state which created this society in order to pave the way for the coming generations of the working class and in order to abolish social injustice. Its intentions were the purest and the result is a cruel anti-climax.

BUT THE philosopher-state has solved difficult problems before and is tackling this one scientifically. If the working-class youth is not interested in continuing its studies through the high schools and the universities, why then is the bourgeois youth? Another

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strange phenomenon has been discovered at this point. A bourgeois youth would consider himself *déclassé* if he took a job as soon as he could. He prefers to study hard through high school and college, even if this means that he does not earn a cent and often accumulates debts up to the age of twenty-five or thirty. He makes these sacrifices and leads this hard life in spite of the fact that the higher wages he will earn one day are drastically reduced by the progressive taxation, making the difference with the income of the working class very slight. He does so in order to mark the difference between two classes, a difference which it otherwise would be impossible to discover in an officially classless society.

This does not mean that the bourgeois youth does not commit crimes or has a higher moral standard than a young man of the working class. But it certainly means that he is less exposed than his counterpart and that he is more mature when he finally receives a salary. The usual roles are reserved and the comparatively hard life he has led has strengthened him while the working class youth has been weakened.

The problem is, therefore, to reduce this juvenile delinquency and to fill the void which has developed among these youths. Hard punishments have been ruled out by the philosopher-state as improper means of reintegrating the young criminals into society or of preventing others from following them. Even if they laugh at the mild methods applied with a truly angelic patience, it does not matter. Hard methods, it has been found, might close the way to improvement forever. Special patrols of experienced educators operate at night in Stockholm among the young male and female prostitutes or the potential burglars and thieves. The patrols have nothing to do with the police, not even indirectly, but they represent society. They take care of young drunkards, of those who are waiting for homosexual encounters, of those who are clearly planning thefts. They bring these young people in taxi cabs to all-night special homes, warm and cosy and furnished with taste. Here they can spend the night, have a warm bath, a free meal and they need not tell who they are. Special clubs exist for them too, where they can feel at home, play games, read magazines and books and talk things over with the experienced educators.

THE SAME forebearance is shown when they are caught breaking the law. Then they are brought to other "homes" in the countryside, sometimes in well-known beauty spots or installed in old manor houses which remind one more of modern colleges than of a prison and which are run not by police functionaries but by experienced educators. In some of these re-education centers they have private rooms and, if they behave well, they are allowed to go to town from time to time on parole. Sometimes they are sent to work with the lumbermen in the woods without any restriction of their freedom other than their persumable desire to be worthy of the confidence placed in them. It is as if the philosopher-state, instead of treating the young law-breakers as outcasts, somehow felt guilty for their plight.

Naturally many of them escape again and again and relapse into crime, but it does not matter. They are brought back once again to the re-education centers and shown the confidence they so clearly have proved they do not deserve. The philosopher-state is consistent in its mild methods, even when many citizens scorn them for being silly and suggest sound beating as the only possible cure.

In a stylish old manor house in Ska-Edeby, a romantic place near Stockholm, there is a re-education center for the hard core, for those, both male and female, who in other countries would have been judged incorrigible. It is run by an expert psychologist and the youngsters are divided into family groups, with "father and mother," usually students of psychology or social workers. Everything is solid, efficient, up to the minute; nothing seems to be neglected. Foreign visitors are usually very impressed. The relationships between the youngsters and the "fathers" and the "mothers" in the different family groups are comradely and sometimes surprisingly intimate. And yet it is a strangely chilly perfection. Something, whatever it may be, is lacking. Maybe it is just the warmth of love.

The philosopher-state realizes that something is lacking in its youth, quite independent of its crime rate. It is a void which has to be filled. The philosopher-state does not recognize any ethical values beyond those laid down in the laws of the society. But it does not have any prejudice against other ethical values. The unique experiment continues.

ST. PAUL IN ARABIA

The Essenes, yes; but study well the Stoics.
Undress a Stoic and you find a Cynic.
The Cynics unraveled what it is to wander.
Be independent as a hog uncaptured.
At every city gate change all your money.
Hold little secret from your audience.
Tell the girls plainly that you will not marry
The best of them and settle down to stagnate.
It is safer to associate with men.
Learn to live well on any sort of diet.
If they insist on your eating under a roof,
Eat at one table until you leave the *polis*.
Concentrate your fire on one small group.
Be brief, be *paulus*, in your diatribe.
Discard the name of Saul, that summer king.

KELLY JANES.

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THE LADY AND THE SENATOR

AT THE HEIGHT of *l'affaire* Boothe Luce, Senator Carroll of Colorado had some blunt words for his confreres. "If we continue on with this debate," he said, "not only the whole country but also all of Latin America will think we're nuts." Amen, Senator Carroll.

Names make news, of course. A question though is whether names make good diplomats. Recent history would seem to tell us that they sometimes do. Clare Boothe Luce has long been a "name," in the tabloid sense. As it happens she also has a record as an ambassador, and it was generally agreed when she left her post in Italy a few years ago that she left a good record behind her.

One might have thought that this previous record of hers would have been the crucial factor when she came before the Senate for confirmation of the appointment to Brazil. It was not as if Mrs. Luce were an unknown quantity.

But Senator Morse decided to make her squirm, if one can imagine such a poised lady squirming. He decided to recall exaggerated statements about political opponents she had made in her pre-Italy days and to confront her with some of the patently silly statements she once made about Democratic office-holders.

What could she do? Well, she could admit she overstated her case on several campaign occasions, and she did in fact acknowledge an element of hyperbole. But she was not willing to hand Senator Morse the unconditional surrender he seemed to demand.

Was there really any need for this kind of explicit surrender? Mrs. Luce's earlier statements were so obviously demagogic that the mere repetition of them should have been enough to embarrass her, and probably did. In a manner of speaking, though, Senator Morse turned the screw more than a gentleman should, and the lady reacted like a woman. Any man who has ever had an argument with his wife will know why she refused to say, "Yes, Senator, I was wrong, all wrong. I should not have said what I said." A gentleman does not ask a lady for that kind of surrender.

Whatever chemistry took over during that hearing, there was bad blood between Senator Morse and the lady when it was over. Mrs. Luce apparently could not resist a final potshot at him after the news came that her appointment had been confirmed by the Senate. She did not quit when she was ahead, as a good diplomat should. Instead, she began to talk like one of the characters in "The Women."

"My difficulty, of course, goes some years back and begins when Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon was kicked in the head by a horse." There, especially in the use of the phrase "of course," is the pre-diplomat Clare Boothe Luce in purest essence. It sounded like the kind of cocktail-party chit-chat that in dear, dead days gone by might have guaranteed a lady's reputation as another Dorothy Parker.

If it did not also suggest to rubes who are unfamiliar with even dated cocktail chit-chat that the Senator from Oregon might be addled, the barb might have passed as the kind of anachronism that even the sophisticated middle-aged are likely to slip into. But unfortunately, it did have that imputation to any literalists who might have been listening, and it aroused fury on the Democratic side of the Senate aisle. It sounded a little too much like the old Clare Boothe Luce, the deadly campaign in-fighter, and not enough like the new, civil-tongue-in-her-head diplomat. There were immediate charges that Senator Morse had been insulted and the old "club" spirit of the Senate was then invoked so that this outrage should not pass unnoticed. The oratory began and reached a high point when Senator Dirksen got his metaphors mixed, as he put it, and innocently struck a most sensitive nerve.

It was then that Mrs. Luce's famed husband publicly asked his wife to resign. Somewhere about this point the comedy turned into a farce.

In all this there are some morals lurking. I suppose anyone who writes about the affair should look for some anyway. I can think of several.

1. It is questionable whether diplomatic posts should be proffered to front-line veterans of political wars. They are bound to have said things about the opposition party and in the heat of battle to have submitted partisan interpretations of history that will make them unpopular with erstwhile enemies and untrustworthy as sober judges of contemporary history. In sensing this, Senator Morse went forearmed into the fray.

2. Ladies who gain fame as rapier-tongued wits but then through real effort and genuine accomplishment change their personal image to that of sober statesmanlike students of human events should not revert to type.

3. Gentlemen who advise their wives should never do so in public.

4. Senators who come to the aid of a lady in distress on the floor of the Senate should be careful not to mix their metaphors.

P. S. An important, however neglected, question in a case like this is whether the lady would make a good ambassador. In this case, the lady had already proved that she could do the job, and there was no reason to believe that she could not have done it again.

JOHN COGLEY.

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THE SCREEN

GET ALONG LITTLE DOGIE

SINCE HOLLYWOOD has made more westerns than any other type of picture, the producers naturally consider them their stock-in-trade. Recently, however, with T.V. crowding the small screens with western programs that continue to be popular in spite of their surfeit, the movie makers have had to look to their laurels. Now, when Hollywood makes a western, it wants to make sure that it is offering something bigger and better than the T.V. variety, something that will draw the customer into the theater and away from his little black-and-white screen. Three new Hollywood westerns make the big try—with varying degrees of success.

With its good cast directed by John Sturges and its magnificent color photography of southern Arizona, "Last Train from Gun Hill" makes the grade. Certain aspects of this grade, like the plot and some of the dialogue in James Poe's script, have a familiar ring; but the movie as a whole moves along at a swift pace and, aided by Hal Wallis' good production, seems better than its story. This concerns a U.S. marshal who goes to Gun Hill to bring back for trial the man who assaulted and killed the marshal's wife. He finds Gun Hill dominated by a powerful rancher who is an old friend of his and whose son is the killer the marshal is seeking. The rest of the film centers on the fight between the two strong-willed men: the rancher, determined to save his son, and the marshal, equally determined to take the young man with him on the last train that night from Gun Hill.

Dimple-chinned Kirk Douglas is excellent as the marshal who wins audience sympathy not only because he's the good guy but also because he's the good guy with such high ideals; grief-stricken over the death of his wife, who was an Indian, and anxious to return to his motherless nine-year-old son, he is still resolute about bringing back the murderer not for revenge but for justice. Equally effective is Anthony Quinn, whose role as the absolute boss of Gun Hill is less sympathetic: he makes it clear, however, that he's had no easy time of it raising *his* motherless son, and, although he has some feeling for the bereaved marshal and bears him no ill-will, he will not let him get out of town with the guilty young man. Outstanding in the supporting cast are Carolyn Jones as Quinn's tired and resentful girl friend, who is attracted to Kirk's high standards; Earl Holliman as Quinn's despicable, weakling son; Brian Hutton as his pal-in-crime.

"Last Train from Gun Hill," packed with excitement from the very beginning, when the two young men are shown pursuing the Indian woman, reaches a tense climax when the marshal holes up with his prisoner in the hotel beseiged by Quinn and his henchmen. Perhaps the picture is too reminiscent of other Hollywood epics in which a lone hero, unsupported by indifferent or intimidated townsfolk, stands up against dictator-villains ("High Noon," "Shane," "Bad Day at Black Rock," "3:10 to Yuma") and perhaps fearless Kirk is too good morally and with the gun to be real, but "Gun Hill" is still a superior western.

ALSO HAVING trouble with a ruthless rancher and his tough henchmen is the town of Warlock, whose scared citizens finally hire a professional killer to end the reign of terror. A few of the peace-loving towns people, who disapprove of using anarchy and murder to fight anarchy and murder, are soon proved right. The paid gunman and his able though villainous assistant succeed in establishing a little order around Warlock, but then they become a threat to the community; after that it's up to the new sheriff, a reformed member of the first terrorists, to straighten things out.

Unfortunately the plot of "Warlock" is not as simple as that. The screenplay, written by Robert Alan Aurthur from the novel by Oakley Hall, is complicated, cluttered with characters and incidents and tends to detract from the action and certainly from the good color photography of the scenery. It is almost as if Producer-director Edward Dmytryk decided to compete with T.V. westerns just by crowding his own with lots of stars and episodes. The lead roles are played by Tom Drake as the irresponsible rancher who encourages his cowboys' coming into town every now and then and shooting up the place; Richard Widmark as one of his henchmen whose reform and subsequent behavior as sheriff are not too well motivated; Henry Fonda as the professional gunman who takes himself and his work so seriously he becomes a sort of ministering angel; Anthony Quinn as Fonda's club-footed helper who is as warped mentally as he is physically; Dorothy Malone as a dance-hall girl who spurns Quinn and encourages Widmark; Dolores Michaels as a sweet young girl whose disapproval of Fonda softens and then turns to love. "Warlock" also has a large and good supporting cast. All this talent doesn't add up to much in a movie which turns out to be repetitive and lengthy.

ALTHOUGH more of a backwoods picture than a western, "The Wild and the Innocent" tells the story of a young, naive trapper (nicely played by Audie Murphy) and his first trip to town. Intent on trading his two-year supply of pelts in Casper, which is really just a village in these early days of the West, the boy isn't too keen about the wild mountain girl (Sandra Dee) who attaches herself to him on the way, and he hopes to ditch her in town. Obviously this tale of two

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innocents being exposed to the ways of townsfolk was designed for the teenage trade, but it also has something to say about a man, even a young one, standing up against wrongdoers. It seems that in Casper, the sheriff (Gilbert Roland) also runs the dance hall and saloon. Although naive Audie falls for its hostess (Joanne Dru), he objects to Sandra's working for Roland and finally has to shoot the sheriff to rescue the girl. Then he promptly turns down the townspeople who want to make him sheriff. In spite of its good cast, CinemaScope and Eastman Color, "The Wild and the Innocent" is an unpretentious little movie; but its simple story is well done and merits applause for putting over its points against living by the gun.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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COMMUNICATIONS

THOREAU'S CORRESPONDENCE

Yonkers, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Mr. James B. Stronks, in his review of Thoreau's *Correspondence* [Mar. 20], greatly admires Thoreau, but I don't. I don't know whether it's true, as the review claims, that Thoreau "had the nerve always to do what he wanted," but if that really is so, it would only increase his general insufferability.

It was Henry James Sr., no member of our "fat and gadget-proliferating 1950's"—who wrote, after a meeting with Thoreau, that he "was literally the most child-like, unconscious, and unblushing egotist it has ever been my fortune to encounter in the ranks of manhood; so that, if he happened to visit you on a Sunday morning, when possibly you were in a devout frame of mind, as like as not you would soon find yourself intoning subaudible praise to the meticulous skill which had at last succeeded in visibly marrying such sheer and mountainous inward self-esteem with such harmless and beautiful force of outward demeanor."

Thoreau's philosphy—and that of many of the "self-reliant" New Englanders of that period—looks good on paper, but it can't be lived by in a give-and-take society. That is why Henry Thoreau took so naturally to the woods.

RICHARD C. CROWLEY.

PLAYBOY MAGAZINE

Spokane, Wash.

TO THE EDITORS: My attention has been called to the fact that the wording of a sentence in the fourth paragraph of my article, "Enter the Man's Man" [Dec. 19], leaves the impression that what can be said about the sources of inspiration and the general characteristic of the more sensational "Male" magazines can also be said of *Playboy* and *True*. It was not my intention to give such an impression, and for that reason I wrote that *Playboy* was "in many ways not too typical," and for the same reason I designated *True* as "respectable." This does not mean, of course, that I was championing either of these magazines against objections to it for other reasons or in other contexts, but that I was simply dismissing them because they lay for the most part outside the range of interest of my article. My chief concern was with magazines in the *Sir!-Cavalier-Male-Stag* class, and it was with this class in mind that I wrote of what "a typical issue would include." It is regrettable that I did not make this distinction clearer.

JOHN P. SISK.

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For Menenites Only

THE FIG TREE. By Aubrey Menen. Scribners. $3.50.

By ALICE ELLEN MAYHEW

AUBREY MENEN, who was born in England, had an Irish mother and an Indian father, was educated in London, and who now makes his home in Rome, currently applies his cosmopolitan wit to a lightweight and disappointing satire on our brave new world of scientists. Along the way, urbane Mr. Menen manages some lubricous comments on ancient institutions and modern trends that give him the willies. He pokes at everything from Englishmen abroad, Italian government, Greek civilization, sex, science, to the College of Cardinals, organized religion and the Nobel Prize. And other things which do not come presently to mind. A rather thin story is laced with too many jokes and *bêtes noires*.

The hero is a young English biologist who wants to alleviate the world's food shortage. The serious son of sober parents, he had conceived, as a young boy, an enormous admiration for scientists, "whom he considered the most important people in the world, as we all do." He gave up all frivolity to prepare himself for this role and, after toying with the idea of inventing an oral contraceptive (though it seemed an unrespectable ambition when blurted right out, and one could scarcely imagine cities erecting statues to such a man), decided to work in biology to increase the yield of vegetable life.

Harry Wesley arrives in Italy, after winning the Nobel Prize, where he finds the Italians very foreign in their ways, becomes cynical about know-it-all scientists, and grows a fig tree which bears fruit of enormous proportions which also happens to be a powerful aphrodisiac. The major portion of the book is then devoted to relating what befalls sobersides and his companion, a rich and languid American who lolls on the Italian seashore, year after year, eating and sunning, when they inadvertently consume the love potion. This chestnut must be one of the three or four oldest gags in the world, and Mr. Menen does very little to raise it from its morbidly vulgar dimensions.

With this situation established, Mr. Menen does his best to liven up the proceedings with some risqué jokes about provocative women, illicit love, two sex fiends on the loose and the failure of self-restraint, chapel breeding or science to deal with their dilemma. Finally, the men turn to the Greeks. Harry's chapel-bred, pedantic, scientific mind can see only the details. But Joe the gourmet, who consciously works at ignorance because knowledge and purpose clutter the mind, remembers the axiom with which, he knows, no civilized man could argue: that there was a clarity and rationality about the Greek mind that laid the foundations of our civilization. It died out with the gloomy advent of Christianity with its moral strictures and "obsession with sin," he knows, but it may still provide the antidote for his disturbing turmoil in a more agreeable way than Harry's religion-instilled narrowness. It doesn't quite work out. It seems the Greeks had no sense of color, propriety or the niceties of cooking.

At this point, the two men separate, and Harry Wesley runs into trouble in a small hill village where, threatened with extinction by the local populace, he is rescued by the priest. Now, Mr. Menen, already saddled with a dull story, poor taste aside, changes the emphasis of the book. First, we have a bogus priest who is a heretic and voices some outrageous remarks (of Mr. Menen's) to the effect that Wesley, because he is not a Catholic, is fortunate in not having committed any sins. This same priest also makes a scandalous and inaccurate remark concerning the sanctity of the seal of Confession. Then, the scene shifts, unbelievably, to the College of Cardinals, where the moral discussion of Wesley's invention plays second fiddle to Mr. Menen's interpretation of behind-the-scenes rivalry and politics, to a little sketch of an old, dull, saintly Cardinal and a clever, cynical one.

In the end, the potion wears off, the fig tree is destroyed and a government minister falls as Harry begs the Cardinal to take revenge on all science, to no avail. On the last page he turns his mind to Christianity as a possibility for teaching man how to discern right and wrong. Joe dozes through this argument as he did through a great part of the lectures. And so did I.

Variation on an O'Neill Theme

HUGHIE. By Eugene O'Neill. Yale. $3.

By GERALD WEALES

THE LATEST of Eugene O'Neill's "lost-and-found" plays to be published is the one-act "Hughie," which the blurb calls a "monologue play." Although it is not monologue in its purest form—say, Chekhov's sad-eyed anti-tobacco lecture—the play is little more than a single speech by Erie Smith, "consciously a Broadway sport and a Wise Guy," punctuated by occasional remarks from the listening (or, often, not-listening) Night Clerk. The play, as so often in O'Neill's late work, is an illustration of man's inescapable need for illusion.

As the play opens, Smith, a small-time gambler, very down on his luck, introduces himself to the new Night Clerk of his ratty hotel, sprinkling his apparently casual talk with references to his success as a gambler, a lover and a friend of gangsters. In the face of the Night Clerk's indifference, Smith begins to think fondly of Hughie, the former Night Clerk, now dead, to whom Smith was a hero, and in his sad reminiscences about the

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stories that he made up for Hughie, the gambler drops, one after another, each of the masks that he has displayed at the beginning of his conversation. When the Night Clerk, who needs a hero as much as Erie Smith needs an audience, at last shows that he is willing to become Hughie (his name is Charlie Hughes and to Smith he looks rather like a dead man), the defeated gambler regains his confidence and puts on again the faces that he has momentarily removed. The play ends with a ritual crap game, which Smith of course wins: "Easy when you got my luck—and know how. Huh, Charlie?"

The theme and its development suggest most clearly "The Iceman Cometh." In the long play, the patrons of Harry Hope's saloon are presented with their illusions intact; Hickey arrives to explore their "pipe dreams"; the salesman's arrest gives them an excuse to skip back into the fiction that on some tomorrow they will really achieve all that they have always intended. The pattern—mask, unmask, remask—is precisely that of "Hughie." The short play is impressive because it manages to say clearly and immediately what the long play chooses to examine in detail; if "Hughie" lacks the cumulative force of "The Iceman Cometh," it escapes much of the repetition that is characteristic not only of "Iceman," but of O'Neill's work in general. "Hughie" is a genuine achievement among one-act plays.

The one difficulty with "Hughie" is the character of the Night Clerk. O'Neill has given him an active and amusing fantasy life which explains his willingness to accept Hughie's role, but the Night Clerk's dreams exist only in the novelistic stage directions. On stage, his shift from *indifference* to *something* almost like excitement would be difficult to communicate in the few lines that are given to him. Still this drawback might be, in one way, an advantage. Although the play would lose the extra dimension of the Night Clerk's Walter Mitty personality, Erie Smith and his strutting, sagging monologue would—as it should—have the stage to itself.

I have one complaint to aim at the publisher. "Hughie," like "Long Day's Journey into Night" and "A Touch of the Poet," comes naked, so to speak, into the world. The only information about the play is stuck into the blurb, and no one would think of going to a book jacket for facts. With the O'Neill papers comfortably in residence at Yale, it would have been a simple matter to have someone prepare a short introduction giving the circumstances of the writing of the play and of the Stockholm production. Such a note would have been as interesting to the casual reader as it would have been useful to the scholar. If there are to be more O'Neill forgotten plays remembered and published, introductions would be welcome.

Genuine Humor

THE SWEETBREAD. By Michelle Maurois. Julian Messner. $3.50.

By SUE DAVIDSON

COLLECTIONS of short stories taken as a whole are not suitable to the palates of most readers, beginning with myself. If the stories are good, the sensation is of having allowed onself too much popcorn: if poor, the effect is of an enforced diet of beans for too many meals in a row. One way or the other, the mind's eye soon grows glazed, and literary indigestion fast follows.

Michelle Maurois' collection, *The Sweetbread,* may be fairly placed in the popcorn-category, although a few stories in the second half are thin. All, however, are brightened by genuine humor, a quality more rare in contemporary fiction, it seems to me, than wit, and too precious to be passed over without a note of thanksgiving. If Miss Maurois' wit is, in the words of the dust jacket, "cool and slightly bitter," she offers the antidote of a humor that is often belly-laugh broad, as in "The Truffles," an uproarious story of the scheming ambitions of a colonial entrepreneur to "earn" the Legion of Honor.

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The Sweetbread does not break any new ground, in form or in the subjects examined. The mode is straightforward naturalism; the subjects are members of the French middle class, coping with (or creating) everyday conflicts and frustrations, in war or peace, as the case may be. Nor is the writer's comment on life novel: she detests hypocrisy and meanness, pities what is pitiable, loves what is (rarely) lovable—none of this with much fuss or passion, however, since her characters rarely deserve it.

But if Miss Maurois blazes no trails, she nevertheless encompasses her material with an uncommonly clear intelligence; and she has the old-fashioned virtue of knowing how to create believable characters. Indeed, so intensely human are her characters that one is in continual readiness to suffer with and for them, until the inevitable moment when the author exercises her skill to demonstrate that they are not, after all, worth the bother.

An important exception to this rule is the long short story titled "In A State of Grace." Here Miss Maurois chooses the most commonplace of all her commonplace situations: the pre-nuptial apprehensions (in this case, justifiable) of a lively, sensitive young woman. From these homely materials she succeeds in creating a moving portrait and in enlisting regret for what is still regrettable, even in an age of more immediate and terrible concerns—the sacrifice of youth's wonderfully innocent *joi de vivre* to the hard demands of worldly middle-age.

Runner-up to this fine story is "Perfect Harmony," also a longer piece, which deals with the disillusion of a romantic middle-aged woman when she actually captures for her lover a famous pianist whom she has idolized from afar. The "surprise" here is an integral part of the tale, and increases our understanding, unlike the "surprise ending" to which Miss Maurois is so unfortunately addicted, and which mars each of the selections in which it is attempted. But then one must end a short story—that impossible form—somehow . . . Popcorn, anyone?

Varied Dissent

VOICES OF DISSENT. A Collection of Articles from Dissent Magazine. Preface by Norman Thomas. Grove Press. $3.75 and $1.95.

By JACOB COHEN

IN OLDEN days the Marxist intellectual sailed confidently with the current of History's stream, and while he could never be the navigator of the ship of humanity, he could at least be its chief petty officer. His objectives were the objectives of the working class, and armed with a ubiquitous economics and a sublime confidence in the imminent victory of the proletariat, he could tame the most intractable intellectual problem for History's sake.

Today the Marxist intellectual is likely to despair at an imminent proletarian triumph; shocked by the monstrosity that Marxism has become in the Soviet Union, ignored more than ever by an American working class which has never behaved quite properly, he has altered his oldtime stance. Once he railed only against those Western

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I find that it is not possible for me to give adequate praise to *Worship* in the space alloted. It is sound and scholarly—but at the same time lively and direct. Probably most of its readers are priests, but it is written and edited for all Catholics.

The subject matter and purpose of the magazine do not vary from issue to issue: *Worship* is published to help people understand the Mass and the sacraments. Yet there is tremendous variety in its pages; perhaps the first and possibly the most valuable educational experience one gets from it is the realization of the ties between liturgy and life.

Worship treats of the social order, religious sociology, music, art, and architecture, of the psychology of modern man, the meaning of sacrifice, liturgical reforms, and of the participation of the laity in the prayer-life of the Church.

I said it was for "all Catholics," but there must be a reservation. Though *Worship* is "popular" in the sense of being non-technical, it asks serious work and some background of its readers. Given the work, the background could be derived (over a number of issues) from the magazine itself.

— Robert Hoyt in *The Kansas City—St. Joseph Register*

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nations in the advanced stages of capitalism—today he suspects that it is all of modern society, everywhere, which is the enemy. Once he was the "midwife" of history, today he aims to abort its dismal direction. Dissent is his persuasion, and *Dissent* is his most articulate journal. Now, five years after the publication of its first number, this sharp-talking socialist quarterly has published a collection of representative articles which permits us to appraise the place of this journal in contemporary American discussion.

The impression persists that what is most valuable, and most inept, in this journal is, at least partly, a function of its self-conscious accommodation to a Marxist tradition. At their best *Dissent*'s articles stand eloquent witness against the evils of modern mass society. Recalling Marx's shattering critique of the alienation suffered by modern man, *Dissent*'s attacks on mass culture often contain a moral thrust which is absent from the work of those social scientists like Riesman and Whyte who, despite the best of moral intentions, have only a neutral social science to sustain their message.

This moral thrust well serves the numerous critiques of a Marxist tradition which replaces humanism with production charts, and in the name of some lascivious loyalty remains obtuse to the lurid reality of the Soviet Union. On this point I would cite the articles by G. L. Arnold, Lewis Coser, and the moving letter by Czeslaw Milosz to Picasso. The Marxian persuasion is helpful too in *Dissent*'s persistent attempts to delineate the locus of political power, the seat of decisive responsibility, midst the complexity of modern society. *Dissent* reminds us that an old-time politics is still plausible and in this regard I would especially commend the work of C. Wright Mills.

Of course, the danger of any journal of dissent is that it may prejudge what public issues are proper for dissent and what are not. While *Dissent* has printed no articles calling for an abolition of the graduated income tax, it has been, I think, laudably flexible. A recent number printed an article by Hannah Arendt (not included in this book) in which Miss Arendt with deep seriousness and theoretical acumen argued against compulsory school integration. And particularly noteworthy has been *Dissent*'s willingness to go beyond classical Socialism in order to find new categories of social analysis. The crackling exchange between Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm on the relative merits of a Freudian or Neo-Freudian social philosophy is a case in point. Mr. Marcuse, to my mind, has not only exposed the weakness of Fromm's position, but reminded us of the manner in which Freudian social philosophy is relevant to the best of contemporary Christian and Jewish thought.

But there is also much in *Dissent* which is vacuous and pernicious. Vacuous are its tortured attempts at ideological self-definition, its ploying polemic against those "liberals" whom, some of *Dissent*'s writers feel, too often celebrate rather than excoriate American life. Too many of its pages imply accusations of conspiracy and cowardice. Actually much of *Dissent*'s program is as close to Mill's "On Liberty" and Madison's tenth Federalist paper as it is to classic Marxism. Its cultural criticism is as often reminiscent of Mathew Arnold and Kierkegaard as it is of the great Marxist critics. I feel that, considering its ideological meanderings, *Dissent* would be better advised to encourage dialogue with other contemporary criticism than to insult it.

Dissent becomes pernicious when its anger at contemporary History succumbs to self-pity and moral irresponsibility. Both adjectives snugly fit Norman Mailer's famous and flashy article, "The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster." Mr. Mailer is on the editorial board of *Dissent* and a frequent contributor. He has apparently read a book or two by Wilhelm Reich, and doesn't write as if he wants to be taken as superficial. Mailer's hipster, archetype of the beatnik, is choked by the constrictions of bourgeois life; restlessly, he searches out the frontiers of human experience. One frontier is suggested in Mr. Mailer's observation, made without apparent qualm, that "it takes courage of a sort" to beat in the brains of a fifty-year-old candy-store keeper, "for one murders not only a weak fifty-year-old man but an institution as well, one violates private property, one enters into a new relation with the police and introduces a dangerous element into one's life."

My uncle used to own a candy store; he doesn't know he is the symbol of private property; he is kind and likeable, and I can't imagine why anyone would want to beat in his brains. I'm glad there are police to protect him.

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REVIEWERS

Alice Ellen Mayhew is on the editorial staff of *Town and Country*.

Gerald Weales is on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.

Sue Davidson has written short stories for many little magazines in this country.

Jacob Cohen, a member of the faculty at Yale University, has specialized in modern social and intellectual history.

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Commonweal Associates II

Since we published the first list of Commonweal Associates in the April 10 issue, a number of new members have enrolled. To these new members, as well as to the Charter and Sustaining Members listed previously, we extend our warmest thanks for their encouragement and help. From March 24 to April 23 the following new members enrolled in the Commonweal Associates:

Charter Members

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Edward Carmody, Middlebury, Conn. (in memory of Rev. T. Lawrason Riggs)
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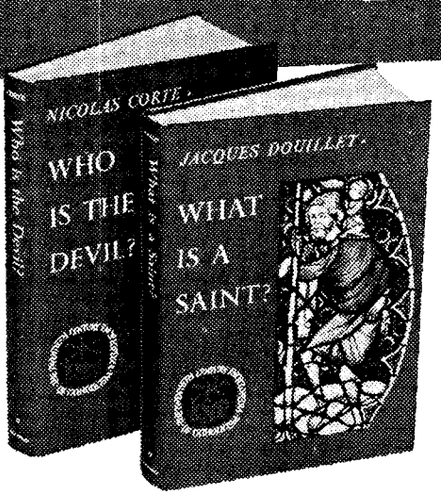

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